

THE SCULPTURE
OF THE
NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET



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THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET

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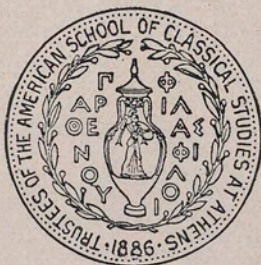
BY

RHYS CARPENTER

Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Professor of Classical Archaeology in Bryn Mawr College

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY
BERNARD ASHMOLE

Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of London



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LESS than two hundred and fifty years ago, the little temple of Athena Nike was still standing, nearly intact, damaged not at all by men and very little by time. Suddenly it disappeared from travellers' accounts and visitors' recollection. It had been dismantled to its lowest courses, and the blocks had been employed by the Turks to build retaining walls and a battery at this western outpost of their fortress of the Acropolis. Smooth wallblocks and delicately carved architectural members were with equal unconcern employed for this new enterprise.

After the Greek liberation from the Turks, and under official patronage of the new king of the Hellenes, the architect Ross cleared away these accretions of unpleasant memory, identified the ancient stones, and re-erected the little temple on its dizzy bastion. At this same time, broken fragments of a relief began to come to light, which after a brief bewilderment were recognised as portions of a parapet once surmounting and surrounding the bastion of the temple. The lovely "Sandalbinder" (No. 12) and the virtually complete slab of the Victories with the sacrificial bull (No. 11) were among the first pieces to be found.

Ross published five fragments of this frieze. By 1842 there were thirteen pieces known. In 1852, Beulé while digging out the approaches to the Propylaea found six additional fragments. In 1867 Kekulé was able to increase the total number to twenty seven. Subsequent investigators have succeeded in adding piece by piece to the collection. The Acropolis Museum and its storerooms have proved fertile in minor fragments previously unidentified. As recently as 1909 it was still possible for Heberdey to find a large piece of a slab (No. 3) built into the south wall of the bastion; and it is the considered opinion of Dinsmoor that "the number of sculptured fragments might be greatly enlarged if the Turkish facing of the south side of the bastion could be demolished".

To-day there are in the Acropolis Museum important portions of at least twenty slabs of the Parapet, besides more than a dozen more minute remnants. Altogether, the catalogue lists forty separate items. Although this count makes it wholly possible that some portion of every one of the twenty-four slabs has survived, there is actually too little to give a consecutive impression of the original appearance. Heberdey estimated a series of exactly fifty figures; and with this number the present study concurs. Yet of this total there are to-day only one half whose pose we can still actually see or reasonably infer; while barely half again of these are sufficiently preserved to permit us to enjoy them

for what they were. If we say, then, that only a third of the Parapet has survived, we shall not be very wide of the truth.

There can be no doubt concerning the original location of the sculpture. The temple bastion was crowned by a projecting moulding, here and there still discernible: and upon this final course of marble, slightly overlapping its outer edge, the parapet slabs were set and dowelled into place. The existence of two right-angled corner pieces (Nos. 1 and 4) forces us to assume at least four flanks to the Parapet; for the northwest corner of the bastion is built to a peculiar obtuse angle and hence could not carry either of these right-angled blocks. We are thus obliged to reckon, not merely with a return of the Parapet along the little flight of steps at the east, but also with a return along the long south flank of the bastion. Here, as Dinsmoor argues, it is difficult to see how the Parapet could end except against the very steps of the Propylaea. Yet the present study will bring practically conclusive evidence to show that Heberdey's supposition was the correct one, and that the reliefs actually ended in line with the east face of the Nike Temple, as the plan in Figure 1 indicates. The carved expanse thus totalled almost exactly a hundred ancient feet and was practically the same in length as the contemporary frieze within the Apollo Temple at Bassae (the famous "Phigaleia Frieze" of the British Museum).

The carving on the Parapet was confined to its outer face, the inner side toward the temple being smooth and in a single surface except for the minute and almost invisible projection of a headband four inches broad. The slab showing two Victories with a sacrificial bull (No. 11) will give the best notion of the original appearance: a low ledge, sloping gently outward, served as groundline for the reliefs, while a rather ponderous headband, projecting equally far, topped them with an emphatic horizontal which continued from slab to slab through the Parapet's entire length.

By mounting a chair or step-ladder, the curious may see on top of this particular slab a series of small bored holes running parallel to the face of the stone, halfway between front and rear, and spaced very evenly at an interval of some six inches. These holes must have served to hold a metal grille of upright rods. The parapet of stone being little more than waist-high, some further restraint for the incautious was apparently deemed advisable. This precaution was particularly necessary on the west flank; for there the temple comes so close to the

edge of the bastion that the Parapet was forced to straddle the lowest step, — as cuttings in the back of Nos. 22 to 28 unambiguously testify. A visitor to the temple's western colonnade would have stood almost as high as the top of the marble parapet, a foot and a half away.

That there was public access to the area around the temple seems to follow from the observation that at the top of the little northeast stairway, where the Parapet began, a two-foot passage was left open between parapet and temple. Such, at least, must be the inference from the observation that the end face of the Parapet (No. 13) shows no trace of any barrier. We conclude that this short east flank was merely intended to guard the stair-well, not to hem the temple in. In consequence, we cannot assume (as some commentators have done) that at its other end the Parapet similarly turned inward from its southern face to make a spur against the temple's southeast corner. Rather we must assume the plan in Figure 1.

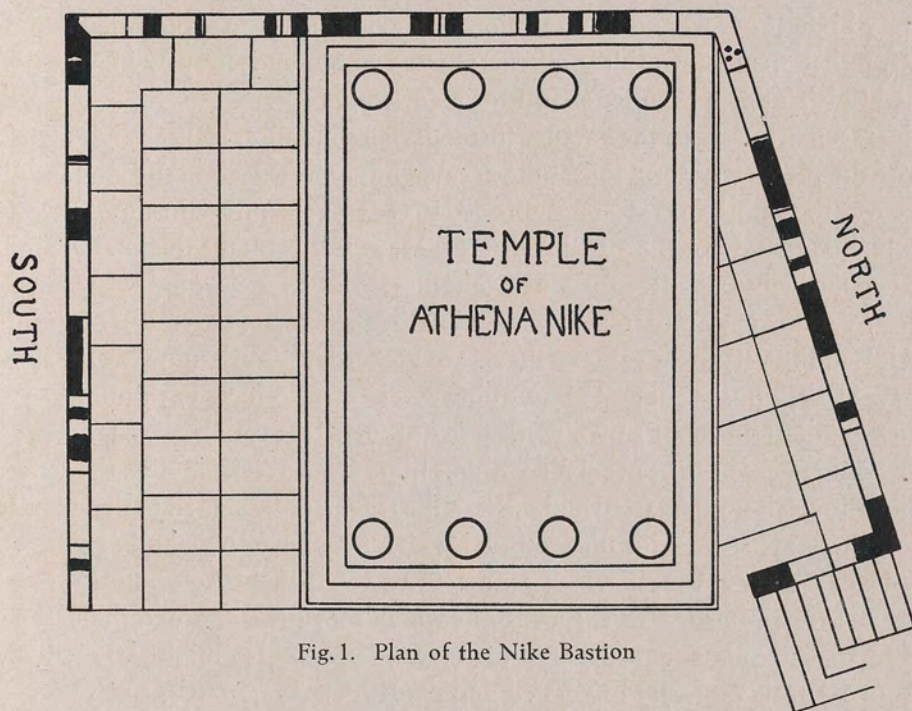


Fig. 1. Plan of the Nike Bastion

The material of the Parapet is Pentelic marble of finest quality. Perhaps a difference in the quarry veins, perhaps a difference in exposure to weather or soil, is accountable for the present range in tint and surface texture of the fragments. There are no longer any traces of the brilliant colors which once were applied to the background and to the wings, garments, hair, features, and perhaps even the nude flesh of the figures. It is possible that with the loss of these colors some of the intended sculptural effect has become weakened or obscured.

The present study distinguishes six artisans who collaborated to produce the carvings of the Parapet. Each was responsible for half of one of the flanks, with the short spur above the stairway falling in extra share to the chief master. From the marks of the tools it may be inferred that five sizes of drill were in use, ranging in diameter from 4 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ millimetres, that a rasp with ridges or teeth spaced 1 millimetre apart was employed to drag the background after the dressing-hammer had done its work, and that chisels in a considerable variety of shapes and sizes were available. The technical workmanship is, for the most part, of the very highest order; and the tradition of leaving and even exploiting the tool-marks, rather than of working all the surface to a monotonously inexpressive lusted finish, adds a peculiar charm for an attentive eye.

The reconstruction of the Parapet through determination of the original location of the pieces was for a long time deemed impossible. Though many sought to recover it, the original sequence proved irrecoverable until Dinsmoor in 1926, by a brilliant study of the structural evidence, at last brought the goal in sight. The exhaustively patient efforts of Heberdey, who had devoted years to the subject, were swept away in a single devastating sentence (which did not in the least lessen the very great value of the rest of Heberdey's work upon the Parapet), and every previously suggested solution was shown to have been utterly erroneous. While Dinsmoor's own work was not final, it is very likely that the problem would never have been solved without him. Even as it is, though the general composition can now be fixed and most of the fragments assigned to their correct places, there are still minor uncertainties which may never be wholly cleared.

Instead of the sequence in which the pieces are set up in the Acropolis Museum, they are here published in the order in which they once adorned the Parapet. And in the running commentary to the plates, much which might otherwise be obscure can thus be easily illustrated and explained.

CONCORDANCE

Museum Number	Here Illustrated	Assigned Position*	Heberdey's Symbol	Dinsmoor's Symbol
1, L	Pl. XXIII, 3	34	C	C
1, R	Pl. XXIV	35	C	C
2	Pl. XXV	36	M	M
3	Pl. XXX, R	44	10	KK
4, L	Pl. II	4	B	B
4, R	Pl. III	5	B. T	B
5	Pl. IV	7 or 8	L	L
6	Pl. XV	22	D	D
7	Pl. XX, 2	33(?)	Q	Q
8	Pl. IX	13	R	R
9	Pl. XX, 1	29(?)	N	N
10	Pl. XI · XII	14-15	H. U. Z	H. U
11	Pl. V · VII	10-11	A	A
12	Pl. XXVII	40	O	O
13	Pl. I	1	7	GG
14	Pl. XXVI	38	V	V
15	Pl. VIII	12	J	J
16	Pl. XXX, L	43	K	K
17	Pl. XXXI	45	P	P
18	Pl. XXXI	46	S	S
19	Pl. XXXII	49	2	T*
20	Pl. XXIII, 1	32	6	HH
21	Pl. XXIII, 2	30	X	X
22	p. 71	—	15	PP
23	Pl. XIV, L	21	AA	AA
24	Pl. XIV, R	21	G	G
25	Pl. XVI, 1	25	1	I*
26	Pl. XVI, 2	23	W	W
27	Pl. XVII	26	DD	DD
28	Pl. XIX	28	E · BB	E
798	p. 45	—	—	RR
978	p. 33	15	Y	Y
984	Pl. XXXIII	—	F	F
986	Pl. XXXIII	18	CC	CC
990	p. 45	—	11	LL
992	p. 29	—	EE	EE
993	p. 39	—	9	JJ
1000	Pl. XXXIII	—	FF	FF
1001	Pl. XXXIII	18	5	BB*
1007	p. 41	—	16	QQ
1010	p. 33	15	13	NN
4838	p. 41	—	12	MM
(lost)	Pl. XXXIII	18	3	Z*

* Compare Fig. 14 on p. 84.



Plate I. NIKE MOUNTING A STAIRWAY

13. NIKE MOUNTING A STAIRWAY

This was the left end-slab of the frieze, as may be concluded from the terminal frame-moulding at its left and the smoothly finished surface of the slab's left face. It stood, therefore, at the head of the little stairway which leads up from the Propylaea approach.* The Victory is herself mounting a stairway, with her foot upon the lower of two steps; and it is no accident that this step was exactly flush with the now-vanished top step of the real stairway, as though visitor and Victory were moving up to the little temple together.

It is idle to speculate upon the object which the Victory once held in her outstretched hand. It is more pertinent to realise how beautiful must once have been the wide spread of the great wings against their colored background. The long ogival drapery-lines impart an effect of rapid movement to an only moderately animated pose. A famous figure from the east pediment of the Parthenon, sometimes called "Iris", (represented by a cast in the Parthenon room) shows this same linear device in a much less sophisticated state and allows us to appreciate the amazing rate at which sculptural style must have developed during the single generation of artists which separates the Parthenon and the Nike Parapet.

Although the drill is freely and skilfully used, most of the surface is chisel-wrought, without desire to polish or conceal the toolmarks. The long sweep of the lines is somewhat marred by an overanxious elaboration of shorter strokes, breaking up the lights and shadows. The result might be characterised as wonderfully rich or as merely fussy; but there cannot be two opinions on the masterly craftsmanship in cutting marble.

* Compare Fig. 15 on p. 84.



Plate II. NIKE STRIDING RAPIDLY TOWARD THE LEFT

4. *Corner block: left face*

NIKE STRIDING RAPIDLY TOWARD THE LEFT

Originally the two faces of this block met in an upright terminal frame or moulding, in place of the present violently contorted edge. The surface has been so terribly worn down that a part of the sculpture is illegible. But a little attention will clarify the representation; while a little sympathy will bring the conviction that this half-effaced figure may once have been among the most beautiful of the entire series.

At the left, a draped torso and a leg slightly bent at the knee are distinguishable. The other leg stretches obliquely back into the lower right corner. Above, at the right, an arm bent sharply at the elbow is covered and surmounted by a flutter of drapery. The other arm, now missing, must have been extended forward; so that the figure, in spite of its rapid motion toward the left, is treated almost in full front.

On technical grounds Dinsmoor was able to prove that this block belongs at the northeast corner of the Parapet, immediately above the little stairway. There is room for two Victories between this figure and the last (No. 13); and it is probable that both of these were likewise moving to the left, thus making a series of four animated figures for this short east spur. On the frieze of the Parthenon a motionless figure usually marks the corners: on the Parapet the contrary effect is prepared and the movement is accentuated. The frieze from the great altar of Pergamon employs this latter device at its southwest return, where the sculptured figure bears considerable resemblance to this of the Parapet.

It is difficult to form any opinion of the workmanship or style. What little survives, resembles No. 13 rather markedly.



Plate III. NIKE BEFORE A TROPHY

4. *Right face.* NIKE BEFORE A TROPHY

Unfortunately, near the corner at the left the relief is almost obliterated. Heberdey believed that there never was a trophy here and suggested a rude image (*xoanon*) upon a low base. Dinsmoor accepted the usual interpretation that a trophy existed here, even if its exact outline is now difficult to trace, and believed that he was able to discern upon the trophy a lunate Persian shield.

Upon her left arm the Victory carries some object half concealed by drapery; her right is outstretched toward the trophy. She faces full front and is standing motionless.

Most of the surface of the relief has been destroyed. Where it survives, the drapery shows evenly-spaced narrow ridges and wide shallow furrows in rather monotonous sequence, closely resembling those in No. 13. The swirl of drapery behind the upper arm is also similar; and the treatment of the wings (a very individual criterion for the sculptors of the Parapet) recurs identically. 4 and 13 are therefore by the same hand.



Plate IV. FRAGMENT OF A NIKE CARRYING A QUIVER

5. FRAGMENT OF A NIKE CARRYING A QUIVER

A Victory is moving slowly toward the right, holding some object of booty, most probably a quiver, in readiness to adorn a trophy. The fragment therefore belongs on the left of a trophy, though not necessarily immediately beside it.

The technical execution is remarkable for its love of rasp, file, and chisel, without final smoothing or polishing. The drill is used sparingly and not with any notable skill. In consequence of such a manner, there is very little shadow in the furrows, which are shallow and without power, but great variety in the ridges, whose edges are pursued and tormented by the chisel. The total effect may be censured as weak and unrestful; but there is a marvellous sense for the material and a craftsman's delight in his tools which more than silence such criticism.

On the wings, the feathers must have been indicated by paint. Figures and background were highly colored on all the Parapet; and it is not likely that even the nude parts were left marble-white.

The peculiar surface quality of the relief with its characteristic chiselling are more clearly apparent in the detail photograph on Plate VI, where is also given the proof that we are still dealing with work by the same hand which carved the preceding slabs.



Plate V. NIKE RESTRAINING A BULL

11. *Left half.* NIKE RESTRAINING A BULL

The Victory is drawn and doubled forward by the halter in her outstretched hands. Though her feet are planted firmly and her legs are braced, she scarcely seems able longer to control the rearing animal, for all its diminutive size. Her upper garment has fallen from her shoulder and now hangs in crinkled disarray from her lifted thigh.

The theme of the obstreperous sacrificial animal occurs already on the Parthenon frieze where, as here, a stone to brace the foot conveniently materialises out of the empty space in which these animated figures move.

The sculptor has everywhere preferred the chisel to the drill, dressing the stone neatly, but not smoothly, in the open stretches and marking the furrowing of the cloth with shallow carved grooves. It is extraordinary how the chisel has refurrowed the ridges of the himation, and how changing and protean are the sharp edges of the stone. The bull in contrast is more smoothly worked, with powerful shoulders and long clean flanks; but the quarters show that it is the same chisel that has so skilfully dressed the surface.

This is the most completely preserved slab of the Parapet. Its structural details include (1) a dowel-cutting in the left end, (2) a cutting through the slab near its lower left corner, for draining rain-water from the temple bastion, (3) on top of the slab a series of drilled holes, spaced very evenly about six inches apart, to receive a grille of upright iron bars, the marble of the Parapet itself being too low for safety.



1. Detail from Plate IV



2. Detail from Plate V



3. Detail from Plate I



4. Detail from Plate V

Plate VI

DETAILS FROM 5, 11 *Left*, AND 13

The photographs are intended to bring their own proof that the master of 5 (Pl. VI. 1) was also at work upon the left half of 11 (Pl. VI. 2). The cross-rasped unpolished surfaces, the graved drapery lines, the shadowless and shallow relief, the finely sensitive edges of the ridges, are very clear in both.

But it should also be noticed that the deeper drapery furrows at the left of the thigh in 5 can be closely paralleled in the right face of 4; and it is even more apparent that the intricately chiseled and double-furrowed ridges of the pendant drapery between the feet of the Victory on 11 *left* (Pl. VI. 4) are precisely in the manner of the drapery in a corresponding position on 13, the Victory mounting the stair (Pl. VI. 3).

All the sculpture thus far illustrated (13, 4, 5, 11 *left*) is accordingly so intimately interrelated by common mannerisms and traits of style that all must be the work of the same master, whom for our own convenience we shall refer to as Master "A". His overelaboration of every drapery ridge, by which he ruins the long run of the lines, reminds us of that contemporary of his, Kallimachos, of whom Pliny complained that by too-great diligence he destroyed the charm of his work.

At this point it may be useful to unfold the paper at the end of this volume, where the original location of the slabs and their arrangement in the three long flanks is shown.



Plate VII. NIKE FLEEING TOWARD THE RIGHT

11. *Right half.* NIKE FLEEING TOWARD THE RIGHT

Improbable as it may seem, the Victory at the right of this same slab is worked with a wholly different technique and in every detail betrays a different sculptor's hand. Where Master "A" relies on the minute effects of close chisel-work and almost ruins every drapery line by cutting into and athwart its ridges, this new master (whom we shall have to dub "B") carries his lines through in long ogival flourishes, with clear steady ridges and strongly emphasised valleys. Unlike "A" this new master is extremely fond of the drill and drives it obliquely to the stone, almost like the running-drill of later times. In general, his manner is flamboyant and dramatic, he loves chiaroscuro and line-play more than he loves marble; and his sense for linear design is much stronger than his feeling for plastic form.

The style, with all its beauty, is very mannered. The drapery ridges tend to be tubular and to look as though they were inflated; and this effect is intensified by a trick of nicking them at the bends, as though part of the air had escaped and part had been caught in the tubes. There is a curious puff of drapery, like a fibula brooch, above the left ankle. The hem of the garment is fretted baroquely into calligraphic patterns.

It must however be conceded that this figure ranks with the Sandalbinder as the most memorable of all the Parapet. If it is importunate, it is at least splendidly so.



Plate VIII. FRAGMENTARY TORSO

15. FRAGMENTARY TORSO

This is seemingly a piece of minor interest both in style and content; yet its proper interpretation and allocation are important for the entire restoration of the parapet sculptures.

Heberdey interpreted the fragmentary object beneath the drapery at the break of the left forearm as the edge of an altar beside which the Victory is standing. He suggested further that she belonged immediately in front of the two Victories with the bull (No. 11) and that she was looking back toward these and waiting for their approach to the place of sacrifice. This was a brilliant conjecture, for it was made without any considerations of stylistic attribution and without any correct information on the technically available possibilities of composition.

The style, however, is closely paralleled in the Nike setting a helmet on the trophy (No. 10 *left*), and the master of this latter can only be our Master "B". As "B's" work, its position proves by elimination to be precisely the one which Heberdey proposed.

The girdle and the crossing braces are rendered as flat ribbons. In the drapery the cavities between the narrow ridges are mostly without depth and are flat-bottomed, with the ridges rising suddenly and almost vertically out of them. This is characteristic of Master "B's" style and may be seen equally well in the Victory at the right of 11. The drill is used freely and its traces are left un concealed. The contrast between this rather uninteresting torso and the preceding figure suggests that such a violent and sweeping style cannot be applied with equal success to quiet poses.



1. Present Condition



2. From an Old Cast

Plate IX. STANDING NIKE WITH HEAD PRESERVED

8. STANDING NIKE WITH HEAD PRESERVED

This is one of the few sad instances where modern negligence has vied with earlier vandalism. Old casts of the figure show the waist and left arm unbroken and the drapery preserved almost to the feet. A photograph of such a cast has therefore been included here in addition to the more mutilated original.

Upon her forearm the Victory carried a legging or greave; and a shawl-like garment was wrapped lightly above her elbow. Neither of these have survived in the present condition of the relief. The armor and the pose show that the Victory was standing, with wings gently spread, near a trophy. The grille-hole spacing makes it probable that she belonged at the right of the same slab as No. 15, and that therefore she is shown as turning away from the trophy (No. 10) to watch the sacrifice. Perhaps this explains the presence of the sacrificial fillet which she wears upon her head — a detail mistaken by earlier commentators for flaps of a leathern helmet. It is less probable that she should be assigned to the position at the right of No. 10, since this would bring together two Victories each holding a greave.

The drapery ridges are tubular in the upper part of the figure, and tend to subdivide by bifurcating. At the waist there are pouches and pockets like those of 15. The ridges rise sharply with vertical walls. These traits point definitely to Master "B". The attribution is established by the recurrence of the wings in the left-hand figure of No. 10, where the same broad quills taper to a bent point, with a general schema like a branching tree.

There is very little transparency in the drapery or modelling of the nude, and the whole treatment is pillar-like and hieratic; but the workmanship is not in the least perfunctory or inexpert.



1. Head from Plate IX



2. Head from Vatican Herm after Paionios

HEAD OF No. 8 AND OF THE NIKE BY PAIONIOS

There used to be preserved the head to the left-hand figure in No. 10, and there still is a loose head on the shelf of fragments, (Fig. 2). Except for these, the head on No. 8 is the sole survivor out of fifty. It is therefore a most important detail, deserving close study in spite of its poor preservation.

The features seem smooth, clear, and shallow, with quiet and rather massive hair above expressionless cheeks and eyes. The Hertz head in Rome, which is a copy of the head of the famous Nike of Paionios, has been criticised for precisely these qualities, and an attempt has been made to uphold the earlier dating of that Nike (before 450 B. C.) on the strength of the hermlike and unanimated style of the head. Since our Master "B" is very probably Paionios himself, the recurrence of these particular traits may be explained as a personal characteristic. But in any case, since no one can date the Nike parapet at 450 B. C., this chronological argument for the Hertz head is no longer valid. In preference to the Hertz head, we include for comparison (Pl. X. 2) still another version from the same original head, a herm in the Vatican, which has the merit of being unrestored. So far as I am aware, the striking stylistic agreement with the Nike Parapet head has not before been pointed out.



Fig. 2. Head from the Nike Parapet (Frg. 992)



Plate XI. NIKE PLACING A HELMET UPON A TROPHY

10. *Left half.* NIKE PLACING A HELMET UPON A TROPHY

The graceful sweeping lines of the pose are echoed and accentuated by long ogival drapery ridges, turning free of the figure. The drooping folded wings at the left and the balancing gesture of the lowered, perhaps empty, hand must have further heightened the effect of motion arrested in perfect poise.

Old casts show a head, now irretrievably lost, with hair gathered to a knot at the back and with facial features not unlike those in the two existing heads from the Parapet (below, Fig. 3).

The overfold is sharply cut into pocket-like depressions between narrow ridges. The girdle and crossed braces are in the ribbon manner of No. 15. A long laminate fold emphatically outlines and divides the legs — a trait recurring on the famous Nike by Paionios at Olympia. The lower torso and limbs are shown in transparency, with widely spaced tubular ridges rising vertically from shallow and smoothly worked intervals. Most of the ridges substitute broken lines for continuous curves — a mannerism to be found also on the Nike in front of the bull on No. 11. The drill is freely used.

In the present arrangement of the fragments on the plaster ground, there is probably about an inch too much free space between torso and trophy.



Fig. 3. Lost Head of the Nike on Pl. XI



Plate XII. NIKE WITH FOOT UPON A BOULDER

10. *Right half.* NIKE WITH FOOT UPON A BOULDER

The right half is more fragmentary. A Victory apparently holds a greave upon her thigh. She is stooped forward, with one foot propped upon a boulder. Her right hand seemingly held a shield which she will hang upon the trophy, beneath the helmet. The fragment Y (Fig. 4) must form part of a Victory stooping forward with wings pendant. As its grille hole spacing fits in perfectly with this slab, I believe that it belongs here. But Dinsmoor has shown that a shift-cutting on Y proves that its slab belonged to the north flank; and the grille spacing then fixes the position within the flank. No. 10 accordingly becomes one of the fixed points for the restoration of the Parapet.

What drapery has survived is highly entertaining and mannered, full of slots and pockets in the depressions and unexpected changes of direction in the ridges. The curious fibula pattern at the ankle recurs more conspicuously on the Victory in front of the bull on No. 11. The nude is very smooth, almost polished, and, like certain parts of the other Victory of this slab, in very remarkable preservation. Master "B's" style is here seen at its best.

The small fragment of drapery 1010 (Fig. 5) must be by Master "B" and appears to belong in the lower right-hand corner of this slab.

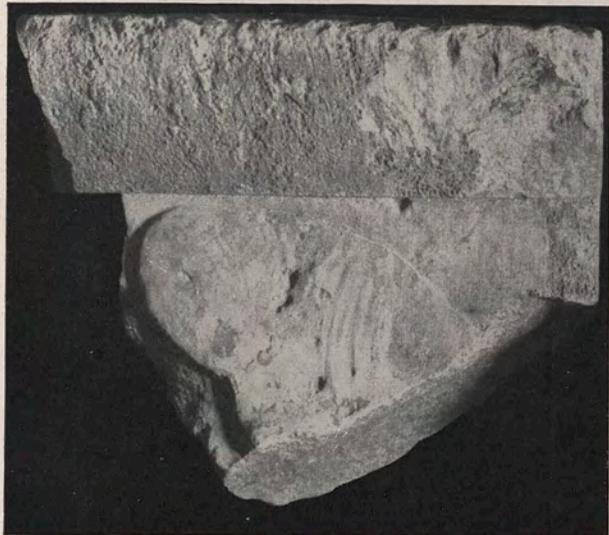
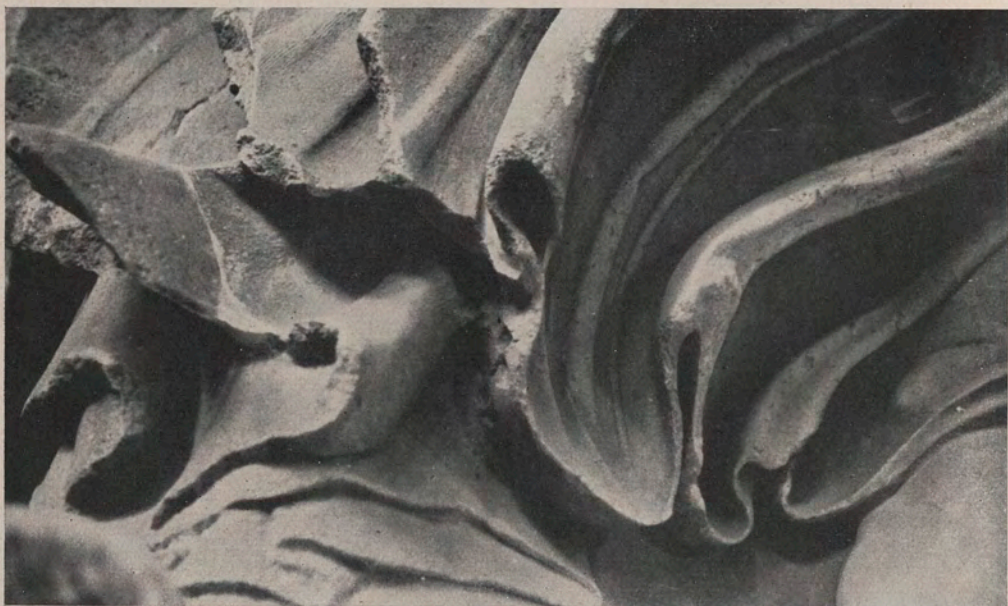


Fig. 5. Fragment 1010 (NN)

(Left). Fig. 4. Fragment 978 (Y)



1. Detail from the Nike of Paionios, Olympia Museum



2. 3. Details from Plate VII

Plate XIII

DETAILS FROM No. 11 *right* AND FROM THE VICTORY BY
PAIONIOS AT OLYMPIA

The drapery style in both these sculptures is distinguished by its long run of line in brilliantly calligraphic swing. The ridges are tubular in section, opening at their lower end along an intricately contorted hem, and elsewhere giving an impression of inflation, with an occasional nick or bend to break the curve. At times, a smaller parallel ridge accompanies the larger nicked one (Pl. XIII. 1 and 3). The furrows are flat-bottomed and approximate a background plane from which the ridges rise vertically. The drapery folds across the ankle are also paralleled (Pl. XIII. 1 and 2), as is the dramatic sweep of drapery across the waist.

On the Olympia Victory, the ridges subdivide by bifurcation, constructing a complicated system of branches. The chief ridge is laminate, a broad ribbon turned edgewise to the plane of the figure. Both these mannerisms are strictly paralleled on the Parapet in the left-hand figure of No. 10 (Pl. XI).

So individual and unusual are these traits that we may well be tempted to identify Paionios with our Master "B", especially as there is every reason to believe that the Olympia Victory and the Parapet are essentially contemporary. Paionios seems to have specialised in Victories; though the frenzied Maenad of the Conservatori Museum in Rome shows the same mannerisms so clearly that it is possible that its prototype was also from his hand. But perhaps it is more scientific to content ourselves with asserting that Paionios and Master "B" are essentially contemporary, and that the stylistic parallels and mannerisms argue similar training and interests.



Plate XIV. FRAGMENTS OF A NIKE BEARING A SHIELD

23. FRAGMENT OF A WING

24. FRAGMENT OF A NIKE BEARING A SHIELD

The Victory carries a shield upon her left arm and is shown in animated motion. Presumably she is moving toward a trophy rather than standing beside one. The fragment comes from the right end of a slab. There is a cutting in back, showing that the slab was fitted to the west steps of the Nike Temple. Its position within the Parapet's west flank is shown by the grille spacing to have been either the second or fourth from the north corner.

The drapery folds are not very skilfully executed; and the illusion of transparency is only moderately well attained. There is more vigor in the draughtsmanship than skill in the execution; for the chiselwork is mediocre and the drill is used too much and too coarsely. Patently we have here the work of a new master ("C") much inferior to either of the two preceding sculptors.

Heberdey showed that the wing fragment, No. 23, very probably belongs to this same figure. Its style is very different from that of the wings in 4 and 13 (Master "A"), or 8 (Master "B"), or 20 and 21 (Master "D"). The short coverts are shown with accentuated midrib, while the long secondaries have coarse sparse strokes to suggest the vanes.



Plate XV. NIKE MOVING SLOWLY TOWARD THE RIGHT

6. NIKE MOVING SLOWLY TOWARD THE RIGHT

In spite of the quiet attitude, the drapery is restless and full of action. This unmotivated disaccord must be accepted as a sculptor's convention. Yet it is remarkable that the flow of line is discordant also with the modelling, and tends to counter and destroy the plasticity of the nude. There is only one other figure (No. 27) in which the lines so wilfully disregard the plastic curves; and it is therefore not unnatural to ascribe both pieces to the same sculptor. In both, the narrow shallow chisel furrows cut into the flesh underneath the drapery, (Pl. XVIII).

Particularly curious and perverse is the drapery ridge which curves in a long arc from the girdle across the left breast. So unaccountable is this, that some have maintained that it is the remnant of a circular object once carried by the Victory; but close examination will show the untenability of this explanation. In reality, the drapery of No. 27 is equally impossible from a strictly realistic point of view. The drapery of the present figure is also strangely caught over the bend of the wing. The same device recurs in the small fragment 993 (Fig. 6) which looks like work of the same master.

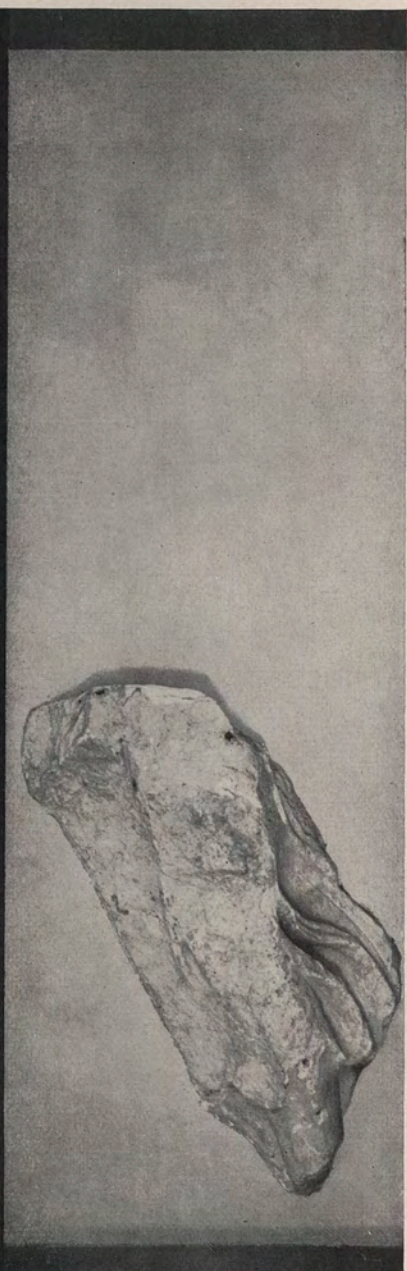
At first glance, the figure is most attractive and arresting, probably because of the movement in the swinging drapery lines. But as the eye begins to penetrate this surface world to the deeper realm of solid forms, such pleasure evaporates, leaving only dissatisfaction with a task so badly accomplished. The photograph, by reducing all to a flat surface, particularly betrays the inconsistency between the actual nude and the plastic suggestions of the curveting drapery lines.



Fig. 6. Fragment 993 (JJ)



1. Fragment 25



2. Fragment 26

25. FRAGMENT OF A NIKE FACING FULL-FRONT

26. FRAGMENT OF A LEFT LEG

The clumsy execution of the nude, the unsensitive carving of the thinner folds of drapery, and the over-reliance upon the drill for long tubular furrows from below, may possibly be excused by the slab's position high on the west flank of the bastion, on the temple steps. The modelling is unattractive, and the pose seems formal and uninteresting; yet the device of refurrowing the long vertical furrows produces complicated drapery profiles and removes the suspicion that the whole execution is merely perfunctory.

The Victory seems to be an attendant and may have held a sacrificial vessel in her left hand. The arm is bent sharply at the elbow, but does not seem under any strain. The head may have been turned slightly toward the right.

The drapery passage over the breast is closely paralleled in No. 24. On the wing, the raised midribs of the coverts and the coarse sparse vanes of the secondaries resemble No. 23. The pockets at the girdle appear more emphatically on No. 27, where are also to be found the harsh grooves of the drill driven upward from below. The ascription to Master "C" is therefore easy.

The fragment of a left leg (No. 26) probably reproduced the style of No. 24. The two small drilled holes on the calf were for attaching some long narrow object of bronze, — perhaps a lance, if the Victory belongs at the right of a trophy; perhaps hanging reins of the bull, if she is assisting at the sacrifice on No. 27.



Fig. 7. Fragment 1007 (QQ)



Fig. 8. Fragment 4838 (MM)



Plate XVII. NIKE SACRIFICING A BULL

27. NIKE SACRIFICING A BULL.

The left leg is bent under at the knee and the entire figure is in strain. The action is explained on the assumption that the Victory is in the act of slaying a bull for sacrifice, drawing back the animal's head by the horns with the left hand, forcing his haunches down with her knee, and wielding a knife with the free right hand. In that case the theme is familiar to us from later echoes and imitations.

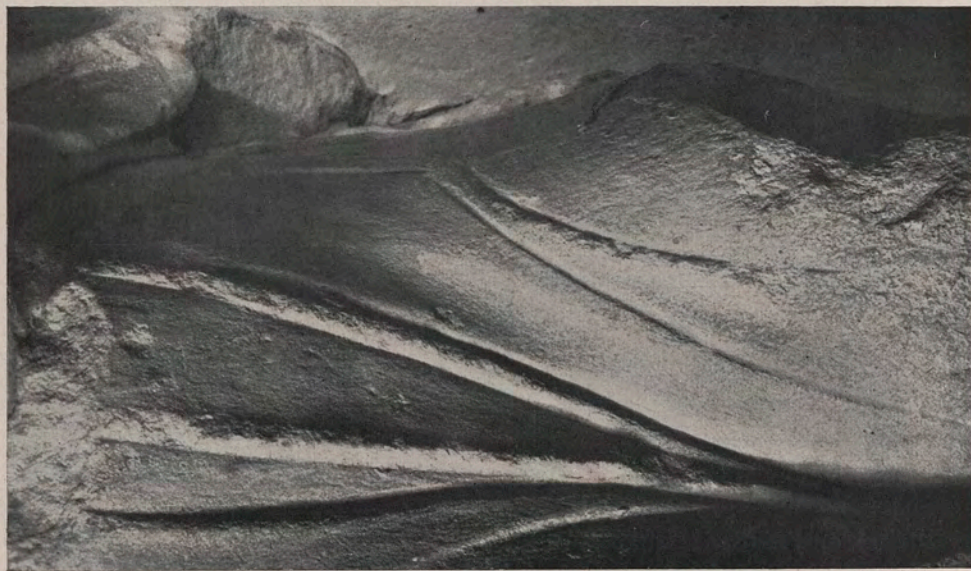
The execution is surprisingly shallow and, still more unusual, the drapery is created as much by the narrow graving of the sharply bitten furrows as by any projection of the feebly raised ridges. In places, these scratched furrows cut into the nude beneath — a mannerism which recurs only on No. 6. With this latter figure it also shares the peculiarly arbitrary flow of drapery line, employing curves so ill adapted to the roundings of the body that they produce illusions of complete mismodelling (Pl. XVIII).

So different and so inept is this technique, that one commentator has postulated that our slab must be a restoration, perhaps of Roman date; but the method of chisel and drill is certainly contemporary with the rest of the Parapet. We have to do with an inferior, not a subsequent, manipulator of tools. His style is by now thoroughly familiar to us, even if we have no better name for him than "Master C".

The cutting on the back of the slab assigns it to the west steps of the temple.



1. Detail from Plate XVII



2. Detail from Plate XV

DETAILS FROM Nos. 6 AND 27

There are also a number of very minor fragments (shown on pp. 39, 41, 45) which further illustrate the extreme shallowness of Master "C's" chiselling. It is difficult to offer any explanation for the existence of such a mannerism at a time when sharp cutting and strong play of light and shade in marble were obviously so much appreciated. Perhaps it was the interest in the effect of transparency, so much in vogue during the generation after the Parthenon sculptures, that led Master "C" to treat drapery so feebly, his desire being to treat it thinly. The suggestion is supported by the sudden materialisation of deep folds wherever the drapery is free of the body.

It is doubtful whether any expert in Greek art, confronted by the two details opposite, without knowledge of their provenance, would place them correctly in their period and school.



Fig. 9. Fragment 990 (LL)



Fig. 10. Fragment 798 (RR)



Plate XIX. SEATED ATHENA

28. SEATED ATHENA

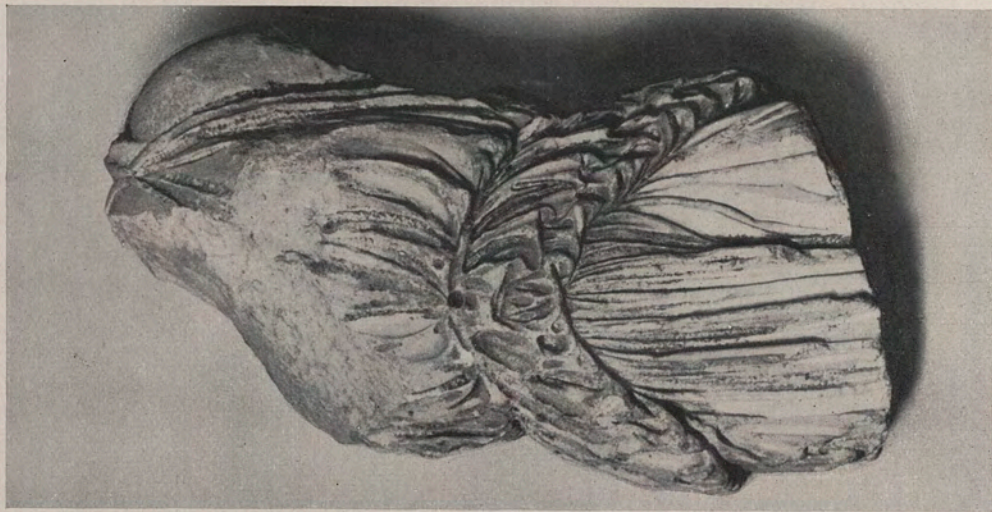
The turning waist and the hand stretched back to a low ledge indicate that the goddess was either gazing toward the spectator or, more probably, glancing back over her shoulder. She holds her helmet in her lap; beneath her rests her great round shield, foreshortened to an oval, with a Gorgon's head for central boss. She wears chiton and himation. The latter garment, drawn tightly under her knee and clinging closely to model the curvature of the thighs, is stretched loosely between the knees in pendant hollows like the catchbasins of some rococo fountain (Pl. XXI. 3). A great stone seems to serve both for chair and footstool. Being seated, the figure is somewhat larger in scale than the standing Victories. The greater majesty of the gods is thus suggested, as on the east frieze of the Parthenon.

The cutting at the back of the slab assigns it to the west steps of the temple; but the workmanship is so vastly superior to Master "C's" that we must believe it to be by another sculptor, Master "D", to whom the southern half of this flank belonged. As the temple steps extend only for a single slab beyond the centre of the flank, the position of the Athena is fixed. Apparently, she is watching the sacrifice portrayed on No. 27; and this interest in the homage being done her explains the turn of body and head.

The carving is exquisite, and the balance between chisel and drill most happy.



1. NIKE WITH HAND ON HIP



2. NIKE STANDING AT REST

9. TORSO OF NIKE WITH HAND ON HIP

(Plate XX, *left*)

The quiet graceful pose is accentuated by a systematic orderliness in the drapery lines which, for all their profusion, are never complicated or unintelligible. The modelling of the nude is very carefully observed and elaborated; but the surface is so covered with crisply chiselled lines that the drapery seems more opaque than transparent. The himation is vigorously used to articulate the body-curves; and the fine dark shadows of its deeply drilled furrows contrast with the shallow cutting and high lighting of the chiton. In both garments every turn of direction in a drapery line heightens the illusion of a wonderfully studied human form beneath. The flesh is beautifully finished, even though the fingers are merely separated with the drill. Such minute details as the chiton buttons and the drawstrings over the shoulders are delicately and sharply cut. The whole fragment bespeaks a very intelligent and highly skilled craftsman, able to calculate his effects for distant view. He emphasises, rather than slurs, the distinction between drill and chisel, and has produced a masterpiece of the greatest technical brilliance.

The hand on the drapery seems to be resting upon some larger fixed object underneath. If this is the top of an altar, as in No. 15, the Victory belongs left of Athena, between the goddess and the sacrifice at which she is presiding. Otherwise, the more probable position is in front of Athena, as an attentive attendant. But it is also possible that the Victory belongs with a trophy scene further on. The relief is broken above, so that no grille holes remain, and broken below, so that it is impossible to say whether or not it was cut for the temple steps.



1. Detail from Plate XX. 2



2. Detail from Plate XX. 1



3. Detail from Plate XIX



4. From the Erechtheum Frieze

7. TORSO OF A NIKE STANDING AT REST

(Plate XX, *right*)

A column-like figure, fluted and ringed with simple effects of light and shadow, stands quietly with left leg lightly relaxed. It is essentially the pose of the maidens of the Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheum; but the execution is freer and the drapery less formal. The stippled and dotted shadows of the overfold below the girdle (Pl. XXI. 1) are due to free use of the drill, worked horizontally in the small flat pockets and vertically from below in the longer folds. There is no attempt to disguise the result or to conceal the use of the instrument. The long drapery-ridges on the abdomen and thighs are chisel-wrought; they are frequently refurrowed down the middle, and the edges are occasionally bent to break the curve (Pl. XXI. 1). Throughout, the sculptor's interest has been in surface light and shadow and not in the nude nor in its modelling with drapery.

The theme recurs in the fragmentary torso No. 25 (Pl. XVI) to which the present version is technically much superior. The dependance upon the drill has somewhat destroyed the subtleties of the line-play and imparted a certain coarseness and monotony; yet at a distance the work becomes strong in style and simple in composition, admirably suiting the aloof position on the high west face of the bastion.

The attribution to Master "D" must remain a matter of opinion. To me it appears reasonably sure. The similarity of drill-work and furrow forms discoverable in the two upper illustrations opposite will support the contention. In any case, however, the exact location of the figure remains undetermined. The theme suggests an attendant in a slab adjoining a trophy-scene.



*Above, Detail from Plate XX. 1. Below, Detail from Plate XIX
Plate XXII*

DETAILS FROM NOS. 9 and 28.

Master "D's" drapery models the nude very elaborately, partly by insisting on all the curvatures, partly by indicating the fully formed body beneath a ripple of unobstructing lines. There is a fondness for strong depth and shadow in the pendant folds, and an effective contrast between the smooth clear rendering of the nude and the scored and wrinkled foil of cloth. Some of the drapery ridges resemble Master "B's" style, with an inflated tubular profile and a tendency to fork and subdivide; but Master "D's" figures are quiet, where "B's" are brave with action, and "D's" figures are beautiful with a directly sensuous beauty of bodily form, where "B's" count on pattern and the sweep of drapery line. Master "D's" drilling is shallower and less resourceful; but his chisel-work is more finished. He seems to have been influenced by "E" as well as by "B", and may have been junior or pupil to both of these great artisans.

On Plate XXI appear other details from Master "D's" hand, as well as a detail from the frieze of the Erechtheum (ca. 410 B. C.) which shows a drapery style markedly resembling that of our master, although coarser in execution. An approximate contemporaneity between the Parapet and this portion of the Erechtheum frieze is indicated.



1. Fragment 20



2. Fragment 21



3. Fragment 1, *left*

20. 21. 1 *left*. FRAGMENTS OF WINGS

Unimportant as they are for our general appreciation of the Parapet, these feathered fragments possess a considerable charm of their own. They all agree stylistically in the indication of the coverts and in the handling of midrib and vanes on the longer plumes. As the position of No. 1 is fixed by its identification as the southwest cornerblock, we must attribute them all to Master "D" and find place for them in the south half of the west flank. No. 20 belongs at the left edge of its slab, but fragment 990 (p. 45) is not part of the same wing. Heberdey suggested that No. 21 belonged to a figure occupied at a trophy, with wings folded behind her, counterbalancing the outstretched arms. The square boss on No. 21 is an attachment mark for the other wing in detached relief.

The rectangle at the bottom of the wing in No. 1 is a bit of drapery with the selvage indicated by a sort of milling of the edge. This convention occurs elsewhere on the Parapet and is frequent on the Parthenon frieze. It may be seen above the wing on No. 21.

As a check upon the attributions, it is worth noting how differently the feathers are treated by Master "A" on Nos. 4 and 13, and again by Master "B" on Nos. 8 and 10, and by Master "C" on Nos. 23 and 25.



Plate XXIV. ATHENA SEATED UPON A ROCKY THRONE

1. ATHENA SEATED UPON A ROCKY THRONE

The sweeping drapery lines run the entire length of the body, ending below in crinkled folds across the ankles and above in a lifted corner of himation which the goddess is holding above her shoulder. That she is Athena is indicated not merely by the helmet upon her head and the upright strongly-foreshortened shield on which she rests her arm, but by the drill holes at her shoulder where once curled the bronze snakes of her aegis. The smooth rock is seemingly a throne; while a loose block serves as a footrest. Above her right ankle appears a fragmentary object which can only be the broken shaft or stump of a trophy. She is regarding — evidently — its adornment with captured armor.

The slab is from a corner of the parapet. As the northeast corner was occupied by No. 4, and as the northwest corner was not a right angle, only the southwest corner remains available, — a southeast corner being a wholly gratuitous assumption. This arrangement brings the Athena at the west end of the south flank. Dinsmoor has shown good reason for assuming a similar seated Athena at the west end of the north flank. As we have already placed a third Athena close to the centre of the west flank, it is clear that the goddess was shown separately on each of the three sides, but with the distinction that the arrangement emphasises the west as the flank of honor toward which the other two converge.

The style is akin to that of Master "D", but with a boldness of depth and with a sweep of line quite beyond that more anxiously careful hand.



Plate XXV. NIKE STANDING WITH OUTSTRETCHED ARMS

2. NIKE STANDING WITH OUTSTRETCHED ARMS

The drapery, which clings in place by some miracle unexplained, is in itself an inexplicable miracle of loveliness. True to the sculptural tenets of the period, no curve is tolerated in the drapery which would suggest an inappropriate curvature in the nude model. The larger surfaces of the body are given directly, with only enough drapery to suggest this drapery's complete transparency; while elsewhere the ridges gather closely to their task of curving and rounding the forms or, deep with shadow, emphasise the contours of the relief.

The body is exquisitely posed, as though swaying backwards with the weight of the wings yet recovering, by the outstretched arms, its centre and its poise. The struts on the further wing prove that its surface was concealed behind the panel of the now-broken nearer wing, on which the feathers were carefully carved. The long, full, curving outline probably echoed and intensified the lines of the pose.

The Victory was busy at a trophy, perhaps placing a helmet or hanging a light shield. The identity of tone in the marble and of technical execution and sculptural style suggest that 1 and 2 are parts of the same slab. The grille spacing supports this inference so exactly that we need not hesitate to combine the two fragments (Fig. 11). The result makes us realise all the more keenly how great a sculptor we are blindly calling "Master E".



Fig. 11. No. 1 combined with No. 2



Plate XXVI

14. LEFT LEG, WITH DRAPERY HANGING TO THE ANKLE

The title (like the ill-lighted position which the fragment now occupies) hardly betrays that this is the most exquisite detail from the entire parapet. However we may assign it, we must recognise its claims to be the work of the finest sculptor of the company. The method of working the fine chiton folds over the ankle supports the attribution to the master of the Sandalbinder (No. 12), to whom one would naturally accredit it on the general grounds of its superlative excellence.

The original surface is amazingly preserved. The difference between this matt finish and the lustrous polish in vogue in Augustan and Hadrianic times is worth more than a passing glance.

Below and to the left of the foot, there is known to be a cutting for a water-channel. This slight detail is important in the restoration of the parapet.

THE APHRODITE FROM FREJUS, IN THE LOUVRE

In searching for parallels to this famous figure, for his sumptuously illustrated book "Pheidias", Schrader chose three figures from the Parapet, Nos. 1, 2, and 12, thus unwittingly segregating Master "E" from his colleagues. He remarked that the chiton slipped from the shoulder recurs in the "Sandalbinder", and the raised hand with a corner of himation recurs in the seated Athena; while the clinging transparency of the drapery on the torso is surprisingly like the "Sandalbinder" again, and the drapery of the free-leg surprisingly like the attendant Nike, No. 2. To these observations he might have added, in a more technical analysis, that the primary drapery-lines originate together and run through long, geometrically related careers, that the secondary drapery-lines are purely modelling accessories, that broad ridges are avoided by splitting into two parallel smaller ridges, and that "eye-fold" pockets behind elbow or knee are a trait of style.

The transcendent prototype of this remarkable statue has long been known to have been some Attic masterpiece of the late fifth century B. C. If this was, as Furtwaengler maintained, the Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alkamenes, then Alkamenes is our Master "E"; but present ideas about Alkamenes credit him with a style so widely different, that few to-day would mention his name in such a connection. Schrader would call him Kallimachos: others may choose another mask for him. But better than by name we know him by his work, — only in copies for his Aphrodite, but here on the Parapet in originals from his chisel, unbelievably perfect in their preservation.



Plate XXVII. NIKE UNBINDING HER SANDAL

12. NIKE UNBINDING HER SANDAL

The most famous figure from the Parapet deserves her renown. Nowhere else in Greek sculpture has the human figure been more marvelously poised, or the nude more beautifully harmonised with its drapery. A pose which in the living model is almost ungainly and which in wingless beings would certainly be out of equilibrium, has had a pattern of pendant lines cast over it to create an illusion of balance and restore a harmony of design. The effect of transparency — whose technical formula is merely that of raising occasional drapery-ridges over the fully modelled nude — is startlingly vivid; and this deception imparts a sense of incorporeal lightness and filminess to the surface of the stone.

As in all good work of the period, the lines are always geometrically related, echoing one another's curvature by parallelism or by development of the underlying formula. Thus all the folds between elbow and knees are catenaries drooping lower and lower until they dip to the ankle; and all the folds upon the torso tend to radiate fanwise from the highest point upon the shoulder or from an imaginary point still higher, from which the pattern hangs as though in delicate suspension. At the bottom of the relief, the straight-ruled chiton-folds act as a foil and, like plumb-lines, give the true vertical to our eye. So intellectualised and rationalised an art should naturally breed academicism and frigidity: it is the enduring miracle of the Greek temperament that so much deliberate concern could serve only to clarify the sculptural emotion and intensify the sensuous delight.

In Alexandria there is a plaster cast of a lost, but ancient, imitation of the Sandalbinder, showing a head which faces fullfront, with crinkly hair parted over the centre of the forehead. In Munich a late-classical relief reproduces the Sandalbinder opposite a girl who wreathes a herm.



Detail from Plate XXV (Standing Nike)



Detail from Plate XXVII (Sandalbinder)

Detail from Plate XXVII (Sandalbinder)



Plate XXIX

Detail from Plate XXV (Standing Nike)





Plate XXX. FRAGMENTS OF A SLAB SHOWING VICTORIES WITH SACRIFICIAL ANIMAL

16. LOWER PART OF NIKE IN RAPID MOTION

Long ogival folds, with monotonously spaced ridges bounding uniform shallow flutings, produce a surface texture without very apparent relation to the human figure beneath. Although the line-play is wholly uninteresting, the chiselling is crisp and clean, with a sort of dry brilliance. At the very bottom, a series of enormous drill holes suggest that the hem of the drapery was invisible and that therefore the spectator's angle of vision was rather sharply from below.

No one could imagine that Master "E" (or for that matter, any of the masters whose acquaintance we have made) produced this work. We have accordingly passed the centre of the south flank and reached the domain of Master "F".

3. NIKE RESTRAINING A BULL

The pose, with one leg braced far forward against a stone and the other vertical, is eloquent of rapid motion suddenly arrested; and this is emphasised by the forceful drapery swirls behind. The wings were wide-spread, as traces of the feathers show. The animal is diminutive—a convention very evident also on the frieze of the Parthenon; the shoulder muscles are prominent, but the body is little articulated.

The slab has been so mutilated that it is difficult to judge or appreciate. The wide, shallow drapery furrows suggest an uninteresting manner, identical with that of No. 16. The fragment was discovered as recently as 1909, by Heberdey, built into the south wall of the Nike bastion.



Fig. 12. Relief in the Uffizi, Florence. (*Here printed in reverse*)

Heberdey suggested that 16 and 3 might belong together, to produce a scene very much like that of No. 11, but moving in the opposite direction.

The correctness of this hypothesis is shown by the relief in the Uffizi in Florence, where these two figures are repeated, though the action has been reversed. The long, ogival drapery folds of No. 16 are very clear in the copy, and the attitude of the maiden and the bull is manifestly derived from No. 3.

There is a cutting for a waterchannel near the right edge of the slab (i. e. on No. 3), just as there is one at the left of No. 11. It would appear therefore that the present slab corresponded exactly to No. 11, occupying the corresponding position in the south flank. The reversal of direction in the action and the apparent contradiction in the position of the waterchannel are then immediately intelligible, since in both flanks the composition and the measurements are calculated from east to west,—which is to say, from left to right on the slabs of the north, and from right to left on the slabs of the south flank.



Plate XXXI

17. FRAGMENT OF A NIKE CARRYING A SHIELD

The hard, brilliant style suggests a position at a considerable distance from the spectator. The narrow, unwavering drapery ridges, widely spaced and separated by shallow furrows, ally the fragment with Nos. 3 and 16. The figure clearly belongs in connection with a trophy.

18. NIKE BEFORE A TROPHY

This is essentially the same theme and attitude as the better preserved and much more beautiful fragment No. 2. It is important in showing how close the Victory's forearm in No. 2 may approach the trophy of No. 1 without offending against the sense of the composition. The surface is too battered to permit any very clear judgment of the original merits of the sculpture. The widely-spaced shallow furrows in the drapery are tell-tale of Master "F's" handiwork and make the attribution to him easy and certain. We may consequently combine Nos. 17 and 18 in a single slab.



Plate XXXII. TROPHY WITH PERSIAN ARMOR

19. TROPHY WITH PERSIAN ARMOR

Heberdey's sketch is the best commentary to this badly worn and partly illegible fragment. On the background at the left appear the long outer wing-feathers of a Victory and above these, in higher relief, her left forearm, holding a quiver which she is about to attach to a trophy. This latter is formed, as usual, by a tree trunk. It has already been adorned with a long sleeved, tightly girdled coat, with a leather cap above and, perhaps, a bow and bowcase at the base. These articles characterise the captured booty as Persian.

It is hardly possible to see the original workmanship, so seriously has the surface been abraded. The fragment is also without technical indication of its position in the Parapet. We may therefore assign it much as we please, without further assurance of accuracy, except as elimination narrows down our choice. The seemingly indifferent workmanship makes plausible the ascription to Master "C" or "F", as the least gifted artisans of the parapet; the exigencies of the composition favor the latter, as there is an appropriate vacancy at the parapet's extreme southeastern end. The attribution is confirmed by the carving of the wing, whose deep divisions between feathers and coarse close hatching of the vanes are unlike any others on the Parapet. By pure elimination, then, the trophy must be the work of "F".



Fig. 13. Fragment 22



1. Frg. 1000



2. Cast of lost Frg. Z*



3. Frg. 984



4. Frg. 1001



5. Frg. 986

Plate XXXIII. FIVE MINOR FRAGMENTS

(For description of these fragments consult Casson's Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum).

The arrangement of all the foregoing elements of the Parapet in their original sequence is a technical problem of great intricacy and difficulty. The solution here advocated is explained as directly and as succinctly as possible; but for its full understanding there is need of some acquaintance with the technical features of the Parapet's construction, as they are set forth by Dinsmoor in his article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1926. The attribution of the work to six masters, as illustrated on the preceding plates, is equally fundamental; and the argument from symmetry (a good Greek argument) must be allowed. With these principles in mind, we shall find that it is possible to rearrange most of the Parapet in its original order.

Fig. 14 gives the key to the composition which emerges, and numbers the fifty blank spaces in which figures may be located. Plan I shows the fragments in their original positions. These two aids will be referred to, throughout the following arguments, in the hope that they will make legible an otherwise hopelessly obscure manipulation of facts and figures. A different and in some ways more detailed account may also be consulted in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1929.

* * *

No. 13 (Pl. I) being carved at the left as the end block of a series, can be immediately assigned to Position 1. Its right half is missing, so that Position 2 remains empty.

To Dinsmoor is due the crucial observation that the slabs of the east and north flanks were dowelled at their left ends, those of the west and south flanks at their right ends. If we reflect that the absence of a dowel at one end of a slab proves the presence of a dowel at the other end, we shall gain the following information:—

Nos. 4 and 11 are from the east or the north flank;

Nos. 3, 12, 14, 21, and 24 are from the west or the south flank.

But as No. 4 is a corner block, it can only be from the northeast corner. Its left face (Pl. II) therefore fills Position 4, at the north end of the east spur; while its right face (Pl. III) fills Position 5, at the east end of the north flank. The other half of the left face being missing, Position 3 remains empty.

No. 1 (Pl. XXIV) is also a corner block. As the northeast corner has now been filled, and as the northwest corner was not a right angle, No. 1 must come from the southwest corner of the Parapet. The Athena therefore occupies Position 35.

If this southwest corner block resembled the northeast in its dimensions, its right-hand face should measure about the normal slab-length (m l. 227). No. 2

(Pl. XXV) is by the same master as No. 1 and its theme is exactly appropriate. If we join 1 and 2 to form a single slab, we shall find that a length of m l. 209 brings the grille holes in harmony and suits the restoration of the Victory and trophy. No. 2 therefore occupies Position 36.

If we assume two further slabs of normal length to the right of this reconstituted scene, we shall find by spacing off the grille that the last of these slabs should have grille holes at m. 305 and m. 160 from its righthand edge. Grille holes occur at just these distances on top of No. 12, the "Sandalbinder" (Pl. XXVII). As this is by the same master as Nos. 1 and 2, No. 12 is fixed in Position 40.

No. 14 (Pl. XXVI) from the right edge of a slab, is by the same master and hence belongs to one of the immediately adjoining blocks. On the technical evidence of its waterchannel cutting, the available choice between Positions 38 and 42 is settled in favor of 38.

As no further work by this master ("E") has survived, Positions 37 and 39 remain empty; but on the evidence of a relief in Munich, showing a copy of the "Sandalbinder" opposite a maiden wreathing a herm and markedly in the style of master "E", we may infer that Position 39 was once occupied by a Nike before a trophy, especially as the symmetry of the composition, as it finally emerges, demands such a figure here.

Returning to the north flank and to No. 11 (Pl. V, VII) proved by its dowelling to belong here, we shall find that the grille spacing on top and the spacing of the dowel-beds on the bastion-coping combine to make the location certain. On the evidence of the grille, the slab might belong next to the northeast corner (Pos. 6 and 7), but the dowel-beds are too close together (m 1.20, whereas No. 11 is m 1.229 in length); or it might belong next-but-one from the other or northwest corner (Pos. 14 and 15), but the dowel-beds here are too far apart (m 1.245). Only in the location midway between these two (Pos. 10 and 11) are all the conditions satisfied. This brings the sacrificial animal on one of the two central slabs of the flank.

On the south flank, the slab with a similar scene, Nos. 16 and 3 (Pl. XXX), should occupy the corresponding location, Positions 43 and 44. This is attested by the waterchannel cutting, since it is apparent that these cuttings were spaced evenly and set symmetrically so as to come near the east edge of the first, fourth, and seventh slabs, counting from east to west. It should be noted that Master "F's" work must, by elimination, belong in the east half of the southern flank, and that therefore in locating this scene of the bull in 43-44 we are merely choosing from among four possibilities. The arguments from symmetry in composition and from symmetry in the spacing of the waterchannels coincide to make only one of these four possibilities available.

Dinsmoor showed that the fragment "Y" is proved by its shift-cutting to have come from the north flank. The grille spacing indicates that only Positions 7 and 15 are possible (11 being already occupied). If "Y" is the upper right-hand corner of No. 10 (which is by Master "B" and hence from the

western half of the flank), the location is fixed: No. 10 (Pl. XI, XII) occupies Positions 14 and 15.

Dinsmoor gave technical reasons for reconstructing an Athena seated before a trophy on the end block of the north flank (Pos. 18), combining the small fragments 986 and 1001 and the lost fragment "Z*" (Pl. XXXIII).

We may now interpolate the rest of the surviving work of Masters "A" and "B" in the spaces still available.

No. 15 (Pl. VIII) was interpreted by Heberdey as a Victory beside an altar. He suggested that it belonged at the right of No. 11, although he had made no attempt to sort the fragments by their authorship. With the possible locations restricted to only four (Pos. 12, 13, 16, and 17), we must concur in Heberdey's suggestion and assign No. 15 to Pos. 12.

No. 8 (Pl. IX) being also by Master "B", must belong in one of the three still remaining vacancies. The grille spacing makes Pos. 17 unfeasible, and the subject-matter makes Pos. 16 unlikely; while both criteria are satisfied in Pos. 13.

For lack of candidates Pos. 16 and 17 are left empty. An entire slab of the Parapet here seems to have been lost.

No. 5 (Pl. IV) by Master "A", is usually interpreted as a Victory before a trophy. In that case, in order not to bring trophy-scenes upon two consecutive slabs, No. 5 should occupy Pos. 8,—though Pos. 7 is also possible if we interpret the figure as moving up toward a trophy, rather than standing immediately beside it.

We have thus placed all the fragments by these two masters; and a clear and perfectly balanced composition for the north flank has emerged. The two central slabs show a sacrifice, with the victim being led to the altar. This scene is framed on either side by a trophy scene; and there is also a trophy at either end of the flank, with a Victory at the east end and a seated Athena at the west end.

If we turn again to the south flank, it is evident that the remaining work by Master "F" can be placed immediately. We have two trophy scenes, which must be separated by at least one intervening slab. Consequently, Nos. 17 and 18 (Pl. XXXI) belong in Pos. 45 and 46, and No. 19 (Pl. XXXII) in Pos. 49.

Thus the south flank exactly parallels the north flank in composition, with the necessary reversal of direction attendant upon the fact that east-to-west reads from left to right on the north flank, but from right to left on the south flank. The slightly greater length of the south (due to the peculiar outline of the bastion) is compensated by additional figures on the end slabs.

This reconstruction rests upon so many combinations of structural and sculptural pieces of evidence, dovetailing and interlocking, that it can hardly fail to be correct in all save the most minor details.

The picture is much less encouraging when we attempt the reconstruction of the west flank.

A special cutting in the back of the slab shows that Nos. 23 to 28 were once set upon the western steps of the Nike Temple. This cutting does not occur on No. 21, which therefore cannot belong on the temple steps. Nos. 6, 7, and 9 are broken in such a way that no decision in this connection is possible.

From this evidence it is apparent that the left or northern half of the west flank, along which the temple steps extended, must have been assigned to Master "C", since it is he who carved Nos. 23, 24, 25, 27, and probably also 26.

Conversely, as No. 28 (Pl. XIX) is by Master "D", it belongs in the southern half of the flank; but as it also has cuttings for the temple steps, it can only belong in Pos. 26 or 28.

Nos. 23 and 24 (Pl. XIV) belong together, to make a single figure. The grille spacing fixes them in either Pos. 21 or 25. And if, as Heberdey inferred from the bend of the arm, No. 25 belongs to the right half of a slab, it also must belong in one or the other of these two positions.

The sacrificial scene of the Victory slaying the bull (No. 27, Pl. XVII) presumably belongs near the centre of the flank, as the analogy of the other two flanks strongly implies. As neither No. 24 nor No. 25 could be combined with No. 27 to make a single slab, No. 27 cannot belong in Pos. 24. Nor can it belong in Pos. 28, since this would crowd the seated Athena (No. 28) which is "D's" work, off the temple steps, contrary to the precise evidence of the cutting at its back. Therefore No. 27 must belong in Pos. 26, and No. 28 in Pos. 28.

In that case, No. 25 (Pl. XVI) as an attendant on the sacrifice, is more appropriate in Pos. 25 than is No. 23-24 with its violently contrasted motion. No. 23-24 therefore is relegated to the alternative location in Pos. 21.

No. 26 (Pl. XVI) suits the right half of its slab in either Pos. 23 or Pos. 27. As it is pretty surely by Master "C" rather than Master "D", it goes better in Pos. 23, since otherwise the flank was not evenly divided between "C" and "D" and the better artist would have received the smaller share.

Heberdey remarked that No. 21 (Pl. XXIII) appeared to be the wing of a Victory engaged at a trophy. As the end slab at the right of the flank (Pos. 34) is too short for two Victories and too long for a single one alone, it probably showed a Victory facing left toward a trophy. No. 21 cannot be part of this figure (as is shown by the attachment mark for the second wing and by the elimination of the trophy in such a combination); nor could it belong to the immediately adjacent block (Pos. 32), as this would bring two trophy scenes together. Hence, by elimination, it belongs in Pos. 30.

As No. 20 (Pl. XXIII) belongs at the left of a slab, and is by Master "D", it belongs in the only vacancy, Pos. 32.

No. 9 (Pl. XX) an attendant, will fit Pos. 27, 29, or 31.

No. 7 (Pl. XX) an attendant, is most appropriate to Pos. 33, but might be fitted in elsewhere.

Master "D's" contribution is therefore in such fragmentary state and so lacking in technical indications, such as grille holes and dowels, that nothing further can be done with its restoration.

In Master "C's" half we still may place No. 6 (Pl. XV); for this seems to show a Victory engaged at the right of a trophy; and symmetry with Master "D's" half calls for a trophy scene on the corner block and on the next slab but one. No. 6 accordingly is appropriate in Pos. 22.

The various minute fragments attributable to Master "C" (cf. p. 45) may be distributed almost *ad libitum* in the vacancies. It may, however, be assumed that several of them belong to the corner block and that the considerable number of small and discrete pieces which seem to form part of either the west face (trophy scene by Master "C") or the north face (Seated Athena before a trophy, by Master "B") of this obtuse-angled corner is not a matter for surprise, since a block of such shape could not have been readily used by the Turks as building material and was almost certain to have been broken up.

These are the elements for the reconstruction of the west flank. It is only too apparent that complete certainty is impossible and that there is a considerable range of legitimate choice. Throughout, the argument borders on the precarious, even though the reasoning is never merely arbitrary. No one link in the chain is manifestly weak; yet the whole chain hangs together mainly by virtue of the plausible symmetry in the resulting composition and the striking resemblance to the other two flanks. For, in spite of the uncertainties and the variant positions, the structural scheme emerges, showing a central sacrificial scene framed in by trophy scenes, beyond which stand attendant Victories with a final trophy scene at either corner. The composition is therefore exactly modelled on that of the other two flanks, but is a little more strictly balanced and centred. The slightly greater length of this flank is compensated by adding a third slab to the central group, thus spreading the sacrifice over three instead of two slabs. This increase is motivated by the presence of the goddess at the ritual act; and this serves also to centralise the composition more strictly.

* * *

The preceding reconstruction may seem to range from complete technical certainty to a rather mild plausibility. Yet if we review the evidence fully and carefully, *accepting the stylistic attributions and the two principles of (1) a coherent and symmetrical composition and (2) execution in consecutive sections by a series of craftsmen*, we shall discover that the uncertainties are only minor and that, within a margin of possible redistributions and probable mistakes, the Parapet of the Nike Temple can be reconstituted out of its broken and disjointed pieces.

It is very apparent that the whole compositional scheme echoes the frieze of the Parthenon. The short east spur by the stairway is purely episodic in character, like the west flank of the Parthenon frieze; north and south are exact counterparts, moving symmetrically parallel toward the fourth side, which is exactly balanced on its central axis of composition and culminates in a ritual act in divine presence.

Collaborating on this highly coherent and fully planned schedule, six sculptors worked in pairs, each pair dividing a flank, with the short east spur falling for extra share to the chief artist. Out of the total of fifty figures, Master "A" carved the first ten, and thereafter each of the other five masters probably contributed exactly eight figures apiece. The line of division between "A's" contribution and "B's" fell within a slab (No. 11) which has survived and which shows very clearly the difference in style between the two artists. Master "C" probably carved the figures for Pos. 19 to 26; Master "D" for Pos. 27 to 34; Master "E" for Pos. 35 to 42; and Master "F" for Pos. 43 to 50.

With what diversity of talents or of genius they acquitted themselves of these commissions, has already been sufficiently remarked. Precisely this disintegration of the Parapet into the contributions of six different masters makes idle any general discussion of its artistic merit. Judged by Master "E's" work, it ranks among the best in all sculpture: on Master "C's" showing, it is not much above the level of the average gravestone of the time. Our identification of Master "B" with Paionios and of Master "E" with the author of the prototype of the "Venus Genetrix" supports the general opinion of modern critics that the Parapet is the work of great sculptors and not mere artisans. Master "A", with the place of honor, must *a fortiori* have borne a famous name. As already suggested, he may have been that Kallimachos who, according to Pliny, spoiled the charm of his work by overattention to its execution; for certainly his chisel has ruined the run of line for many of his drapery ridges by working them too minutely, and the restlessness of his detail touch has obscured the larger pattern and the broader effects of light and shade.

On the Parthenon frieze the drill is mainly used as a convenience, for economy of effort. In Plate XXXIV. 1. there are long lines of drill perforations concealed in the furrows. Apparently the drill removed stone more easily than did the chisel, laborious as this method of parallel perforations may appear. But on the Nike Parapet, though the same phenomenon occurs (Pl. XXXIV. 2), the drill is not always directed at right angles to the stone, but runs lengthwise with it; so that, if the drill-hole is broken open or left exposed, a long tubular valley will result. This transition from the stationary to the running drill seems to be due to the experimentation of the masters of the Parapet. Perhaps the detail (Plate XXXIV. 3) from No. 13 by Master "A" may be taken to illustrate this



1. From the Parthenon Frieze



2. Detail from Plate XXX. L.



3. Detail from Plate I



4. Detail from Plate XXVII

Plate XXXIV

method as well as to elucidate Pausanias' tradition that Kallimachos "first bored marble" — a phrase which is usually taken to mean that he invented the use of the running drill, since the stationary drill was employed by sculptors as early as the sixth century B.C. Rather strikingly, the manipulation of the tool in this passage of the Parapet is that of an exploring innovator. Master "B" is already more at home in its use: Master "E" understands its utility, but vastly prefers his chisels and files. Yet, within the Sandalbinder's hand (Pl. XXXIV. 4), between the wings of No. 2, and under the sandal of No. 1, he has used a drill of large size and has not hesitated to leave its deep pockmarks where no spectator could have detected them.

These masters whose names have been mentioned were active during the Peloponnesian War. But there has long been a dispute whether Paionios made his Victory at Olympia around 450 B.C. or 422 B.C., since the historical evidence leaves us with such an alternative. Among contemporary archaeologists few still uphold the earlier date. But the argument's final stay is little more than an appeal to certain characteristics of the Hertz head, a better preserved version derived from the Victory at Olympia, of which it has been said that "a mask-like rigidity distinguishes the features, whose large uniform surfaces impart a kind of structural emphasis, noticeable also in the restrained and almost decorative treatment of the hair. The forehead is noticeably low; the underpart of the face is heavy; in the eyes the crossing of upper on lower lid is barely indicated." But we, observing how aptly these observations characterise the heads from the Parapet, will rather conclude that the only plausible reason for an early date for the Olympia Nike is hereby invalidated. So close are the parallels between Master "B" and Paionios, that even those who are not disposed to accept our identification of the two quite literally, must in the end agree that they at least settle, finally and beyond appeal, the later date of the Olympia Victory; so that 422 B.C. must be accepted as a cornerstone in our sculptural chronology of the Pheidian School.

It may be objected that we are dating the Olympia Nike from the Parapet without knowing the date of the latter. This is not the case. For we know, at any rate, that the Parapet was carved long after 450 B.C. The architectural evidence proves that the Parapet was constructed later than the Propylaea and hence that it must fall, at the earliest, in the time of the Peloponnesian War.

On the other hand it is hard to believe that a defeated nation would have erected so triumphant a memorial to Victory and Athena Victorious: we can hardly suppose that the Parapet commemorates the final outcome of that disastrous conflict. But in 421 B. C. a project for a fifty-year peace between Athens and Sparta was ratified; and where neither side admitted defeat, both might well have claimed victory. Between this "Peace of Nikias" and the fatal Sicilian Expedition of 415 B. C., the Athenians had sufficient leisure and adequate justification for ordering Victories. The younger Pheidian School, made up from the pupils of the sculptors who had adorned the Parthenon, was then active; and it was these, as far as we can judge from the sculptural evidence, who must have carved the Parapet. Historical probability and stylistic criticism thus combine upon the years between 421 and 415 B. C. as the most likely date of execution.

In the Bassae frieze the knowledge of foreshortening which had been acquired by the painters of the fifth century B. C. was transferred to relief sculpture; and the fortunate older tradition of self-explanatory motion in silhouette, still characteristic of the Parthenon frieze, was more and more abandoned for oblique motion, achieved by foreshortening on the depth of the relief. The Nike Parapet is scarcely touched by this innovation: Athena's shield becomes an elongated oval, and some of the wings seem slightly abbreviated by their obliquity; but the Victories and the bulls move along the background, rather than into it or out of it. One of the Bassae figures (530, *right*) seems reminiscent of the Nike before the bull on No. 11; but as the exact date of the Bassae frieze is unknown, it is dangerous to draw any chronological deductions from the similarity. On technical grounds, also, an approximate contemporaneity is arguable; but the argument is *ab ignotiore*.

The use of the tools has already been dwelt upon, and it has been pointed out that the knowledge of the semi-running drill argues for the Parapet a date posterior to that of the Parthenon frieze. A stylistic similarity with the Erechtheum frieze has already been pointed out. All these considerations combine to restrict the date of the Parapet within rather narrow limits, say, 425–400 B. C. Within those limits the historical considerations already adduced narrow the date still more, and leave us with 421–415 B. C. as the only satisfactory solution. But it would not be unfounded to claim that this period was the very finest in the history of Attic sculpture and that the Parapet fragments must necessarily rank

among the world's most precious legacies. Two of its supreme qualities may here be briefly indicated.

Unlike most modern reliefs, which are built up by attaching the clay to a background, Greek reliefs were first drawn upon the smooth face of the block and then brought to life by chiseling and drilling. In consequence of the natural economy of labor and effort, the survival of the original surface was profitable, and a foreground plane was produced. As the background is merely an offset from the contours of the figures, its distance from the foreground was variable and a matter of convenience; but its uniform coloring, — probably sky-blue, — would have had the effect of pulling it together into an apparent plane. The procedure of beginning with a line-drawing upon the uncarved stone inevitably led to clarity in silhouette and tempted the craftsman into keeping the inner surfaces comparatively flat and modelling mainly at the contours. Modern critics sometimes write of "laws" of the frontal plane in Greek relief, and of "background planes" and intermediate "planes of composition". All these effects are better comprehended not as enjoined by rule and principle, but as the natural outgrowth of technical habit and the perfectly intelligible dominance of the two-dimensional art of line over the three-dimensional art of plastic form. In the Nike Parapet is illustrated the most fortunate blend between these linear traditions of relief and the more realistic interests of sculpture in the round.

Modern sculptors too seldom cut their own marble, and the modern public in consequence has not been taught to look for and enjoy the marvellously delicate touch of the trained master in immediate control of his material. For this reason most modern visitors miss the finer flavor of the Parapet carvings, and even professional students have been insensitive to the extreme individuality in the style of the six masters. In the present publication these details and differences have been consistently emphasised. But no one who has not learned to love the fine cutting of fine marble by an alert and gifted hand, will rate the Parapet quite high enough; for he will fail to appreciate that, just here in the world's art, something intricate and lovely was most fittingly perfected. I can only compare it to a flower just in blossom and not yet too full-blown.



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I have to thank the American Journal of Archaeology for permission to reproduce my drawing for Plate I and Prof. Dinsmoor's drawing for Fig. 15, the original of which its author was good enough to send me.

The plan of the Nike Bastion on page 7 is based on the drawing in Heberdey's article in the *Jahreshefte*.

I owe the illustrations for Plate X. 2, Fig. 3, and Plate XXXIII. 2 to the kindly offices of the Archaeological Seminar of Berlin University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

All the important material is listed in Dinsmoor's article in the American Journal of Archaeology for 1926 (p. 1). Of that list, Kekulé's original publication, Casson's Acropolis Museum Catalogue, Heberdey's exhaustive structural study of all the pieces, and Dinsmoor's own contribution are the most essential.

Since 1926, mention should be made of Möbius' article on the Alexandria version of the Sandalbinder, in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* for 1928. On p. 61 the reference to Schrader's *Pheidias* is to his final chapter.

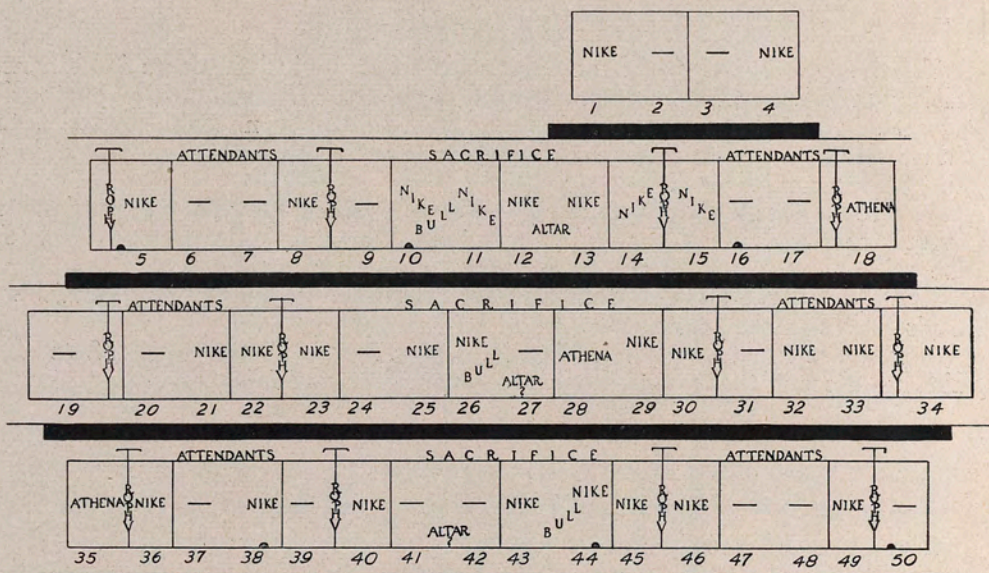


Fig. 14. Key to the Parapet Restoration

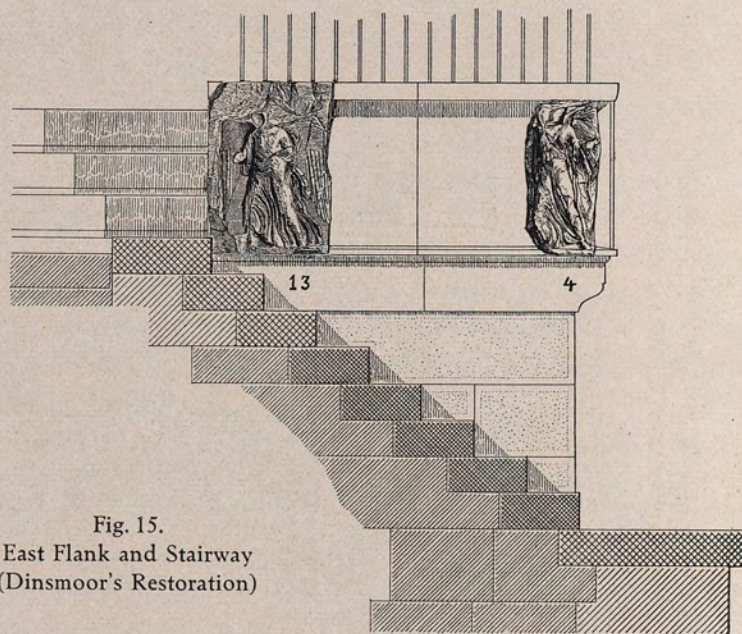
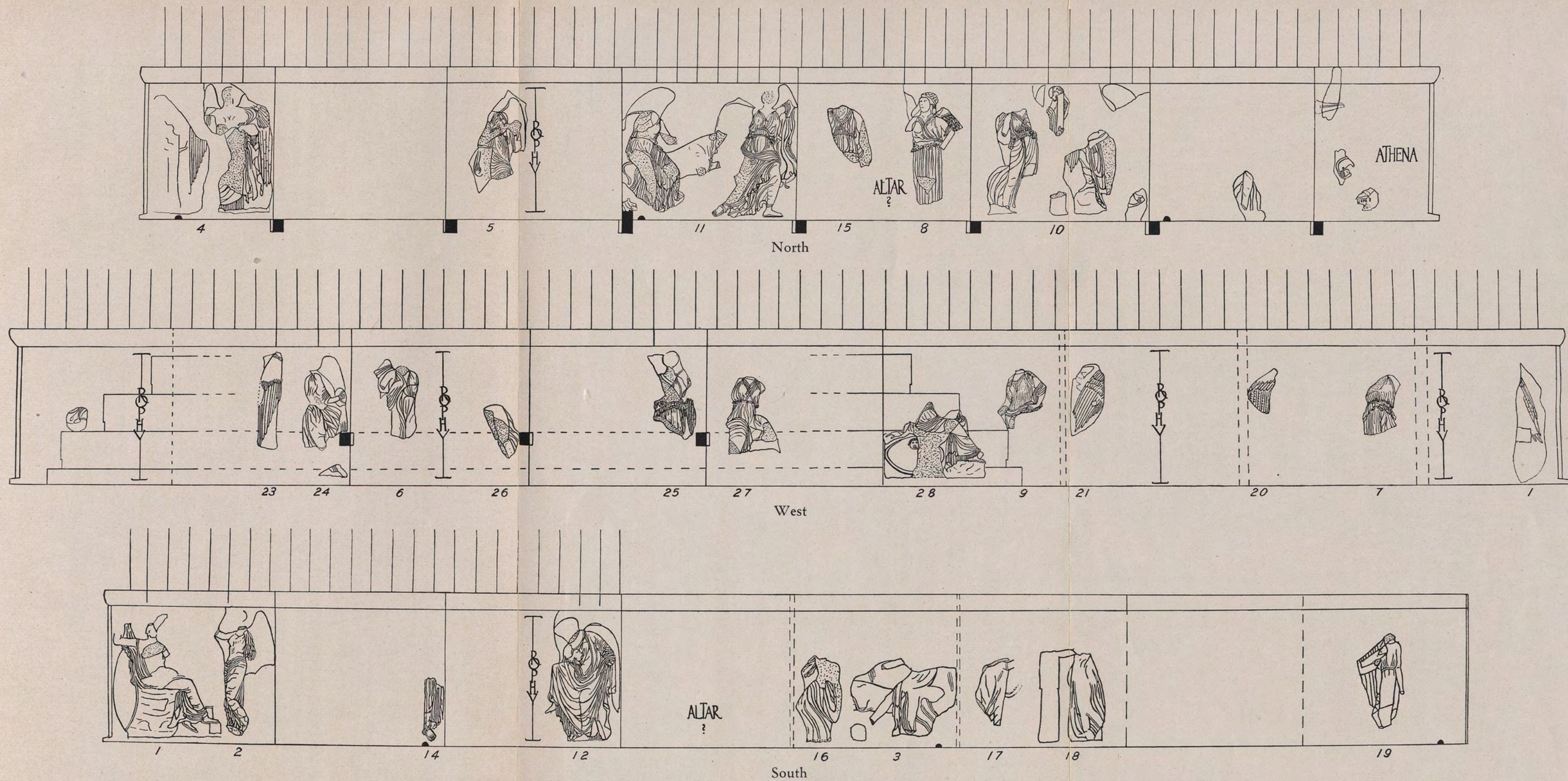


Fig. 15.
East Flank and Stairway
(Dinsmoor's Restoration)



Plan I. RESTORATION OF THE NIKE PARAPET

S 571 C296s
Carpenter, Rhys, 1889-
The sculpture of the Nike Temple parapet
Cambridge, Harvard University 1929.
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